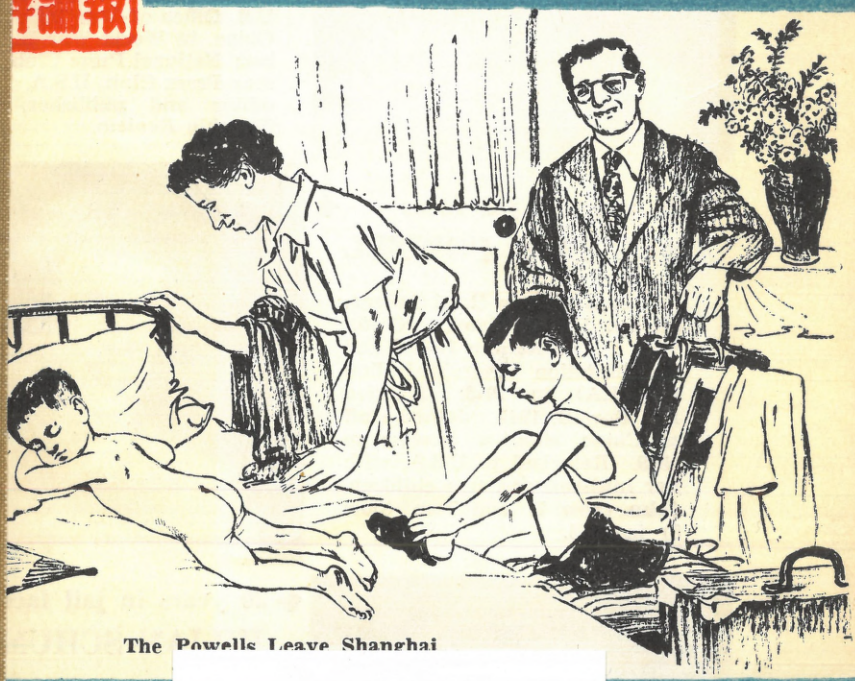
CHINA monthly REVIEW

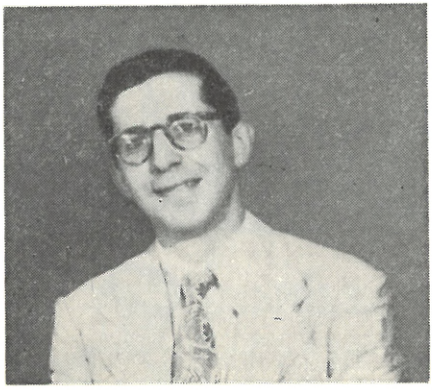
密勒氏評論報



The Powells Leave Shanghai

EDITORS ON TRIAL

For Telling the Truth About CHINA and ASIA



← **Life in jail faces**

JOHN W. POWELL

Born 1919, son of J. B. Powell, famous American editor who founded *China Weekly Review*. Education: University of Missouri School of Journalism. Served with U.S. Office of War Information, China, in World War II. Member: National Press Club, Overseas Press Club, U.S.A. 1947-53, editor and publisher, *China Monthly Review*.

20 years in jail faces →

SYLVIA C. POWELL

Graduated from Reed College, Oregon, U.S.A. Came to China with United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) in 1945. Married Bill Powell, 1947. Joined staff of *China Monthly Review* in 1949. Returned to U.S.A. with her husband and two children, John (now 7) and Tom (now 5) in 1953.

← **20 years in jail faces**

JULIAN SCHUMAN

After service in U.S. Army in World War II, spent 6 years in China as a journalist. In 1948-49 was China correspondent for *Chicago Sun-Times, Denver Post* and American Broadcasting Company. Associate Editor, *China Monthly Review*, 1950-53.

Committee of Friends of the

China Monthly Review

For the Defense of Its Editors

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January 1957

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LETTERS
From the People

Under this title, the *Review* published each month a remarkable collection of letters which testified to its closeness to its readers. They reflected a wide range of public opinion on China, and of thinking with regard to China in the United States and elsewhere.

We use this same name to present a few of the many, many letters received by the Committee since its formation in October 1956. They show how warmly readers and assso-ciates of the *Review* still remember it. They show what people in China feel about the case, and demonstrate their deep respect for these courageous American editors.

* * *

SHANGHAI

I get all choked up with emotion when I think of what is happening to the Powells and Julian—especially to gentle, humorous Bill, a sick man, a swell guy, and best boss I ever worked for up until now. I was there, working in the office and proof-reading at the printer's with them right up until the end, shook my head as I watched them packing those many books Uncle Sam has stolen from them, watched their golden-topped cherub, Tommy, take his last nap at home (stark naked, for it was a hot day), and then I was one

The Powells' departure is pictured on the front cover

of the little group who went to the station, begging them, until the train was actually in motion, to reconsider and stay here!

I am an American citizen, passport and all, and almost the only American who came here *since* Liberation—I mention this fact because it means that I, too, could be tried for sedition or any old bit of nomenclature the "China Lobby" cares to think up . . . I am proud and glad that my name is there on the title page of the *Review*, as a contributing editor, proud that most of the unsigned as well as many of the signed articles were written or re-written by me.

I am now a teacher of English at this Language College and my daughter Xenia Cheng, also a contributor to the *Review* ("Letters to a Former Schoolmate in New York") and also a U.S. citizen, is a student here. We both, along with my son Hugh in Peking, offer our services to do all we can to help our friends.

DOROTHY FISCHER

October 26, 1956.

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
報論評氏勒密
A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

CHINA monthly REVIEW
密勒氏評論報

November 8, 1947

Do You Remember the 'China Monthly Review'?

From 1917 to 1953, with the exception of the Pacific War years, this American magazine, originally known as the *China Weekly Review,* was published in Shanghai. It was a widely read, frequently quoted source of information on events in China and Asia and world affairs connected with them.

The 'Review' Had a Proud Tradition

It understood the aspirations of the Chinese and other Asian peoples for national independence. Its editors fought for a United States policy of respect for these aspirations, advocating equality, opposing colonialism and racial discrimination.

The 'Review' Told the Truth Without Fear or Favor

In 1926, its first editor, J. B. Powell, was boycotted by U.S. and British advertisers in Shanghai and expelled from the American Chamber of Commerce there, for supporting the Chinese national movement. In 1941-45, he was brutally maltreated by the invading Japanese army. Both his feet had to be amputated, and he did not long survive the ordeal.

For Outspoken Journalism—A Lifetime in Jail

John William Powell, son of "J. B." and his successor in the editorship, stayed in China and carried on the magazine. Under his leadership, the *Review* gave on-the-spot coverage of China's national resurgence, one of the most important events of world history. It came more and more firmly to oppose the American intervention on behalf of Chiang Kai-shek and later in Korea. It advocated an end to the trade embargo against China and her admission to the United Nations. At all times, the *Review* stood firmly for friendly relations between China and the United States based on mutual non-interference. Such relations, none can deny, are important to the peace not only of these two countries, but of the world.

The U.S. government, however, had different ideas. It banned the 'Review' from the American mails. Losing its main readership, the magazine closed down in 1953.

Powell, who returned home the same year, was insulted by being askekd to spy on China (see page 13), hounded by Congressional committees, kept from finding employment, and finally put on trial for "sedition".

On March 18, 1957, Powell is to go on trial in San Francisco on 13 counts, each bearing a penalty of 20 years in jail. Two of his editorial associates, his wife, Sylvia Campbell Powell, and another American journalist, Julian Schuman, face 20-year terms.

The Fourth of July is a good day for freedom loving people . . . Those who already have their freedom should make sure that they have resisted to the utmost any infringement upon it, while those fighting for freedom should try to find means for intensifying their struggle.

—*China Weekly Review*, U.S. Independence Day Editorial, July 3, 1948.

Printing Reports and Opinions—A New Concept of 'Sedition'

The indictment of the editors for "sedition" is based purely on 13 passages printed in the *Review* in 1951-53. No other action is charged. Branded as "seditious" and "deliberately false" by the U.S. government are the *Review's* reports on the Korean hostilities concerning the use of germ warfare by American forces, casualties in the conflict, and the conduct of truce negotiations. "Seditious" also, the indictment says, are various opinions expressed in the *Review* including the truism that the Chiang Kai-shek regime is corrupt.

Did the 'Review' Propagate Deliberate Falsehoods?

The charge of "deliberate falsehood" against respected professional journalists on a crusading paper like the *Review* is insulting and ridiculous. It rebounds against those who make it. The reports the *Review* printed were based on reputable sources, the opinions were the openly-stated views of its editors.

If the *Review's* editors had a bad conscience about what they had done in China, how is it that they voluntarily returned to the United States and — in the face of slander — kept to the same stand? They are willing to prove in court that they acted in the best traditions of journalism. They have asked witnesses from various parts of the world, as well as the United States, to substantiate the facts they printed. These witnesses are coming forward.

The Issue: Freedom of the Press

The issue is clearly one of freedom to print what one believes to be true, or worthy of examination by public opinion.

Take the sharpest question of all — that of germ warfare. The Chinese and Koreans declared that the United States forces had used it in the Korean conflict. Eminent scientists from Britain, Sweden, France, Italy, Brazil and the Soviet Union came to examine the evidence — and backed the charges.*

The evidence that impressed the scientists impressed the Review, which gave it a thorough airing in its columns. For this too its editors are held "seditious".

Is the Public Entitled to Know?

Whether or not one agrees with the *Review's* stand in this and other matters, how can its action be considered punishable? The military in the United States and other countries talk and write quite openly of biological arms in preparation. The public is entitled to know and examine every assertion that such weapons, which threaten every living being, have actually been unleashed. The only safeguard, the only deterrent, is publicity. If editors are to be jailed for mentioning such subjects, there is no safeguard for any of us.

---

*They were Dr. Joseph Needham, F. R. S. (Great Britain), Dr. Andrea Andreen (Sweden), M. Jean Malterre (France), Dr. Oliviero Olivo (Italy), Dr. Samuel B. Pessoa (Brazil), Dr. N. N. Zhukov-Verezhnikov (U.S.S.R.).

Can an American Newsman Report on China Without Breaking U.S. Law?

The action against the Powells and Schuman, particularly at this time, prompts one to ask, "What are the motives of the U. S. government in this case?"

In the summer of 1956, the State Department announced that any American press correspondent going to China for reporting would court five years in jail for misusing his passport. It is a plain fact that American newsmen cannot go to China without risking jail. It is a plain fact that those who worked there before the ban have been hauled up for trial long afterwards. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the United States government wants to hide the facts about China and is willing to punish those who seek them. The same conclusion is suggested by the previous prosecution of the scholar Owen Lattimore, and by the discharge from the U.S. foreign service of diplomats John Stewart Service, John Davies and others. Their offence was that they said Chiang Kai-shek had lost the support of the Chinese people and could not hold power — the simple truth.

When Shooting Starts, Must Mouths be Stopped?

Sedition under American law is possible only in war. The Korean conflict, the United States always insisted, was merely a "police action". That was what made it possible for President Truman to move troops without asking leave of Congress. But now, to try the Powells, the U.S. government declares that there was "legally" a war in Korea. This is done three years after the armistice.

The clear intent is to keep Americans from stating any views except the official ones in any situation in

which there are armed clashes involving U.S. military personnel, or where U.S. troops are stationed. Criticism of U.S. policy under these circumstances can be construed as an attempt to seduce the forces from their allegiance. The absence of a declaration of war no longer matters. The "war" can be declared retroactively by a court much later. An editor or reporter can commit "sedition" without knowing it — and be jailed for it many years after.

This is Not Just a U.S. Issue—It Concerns Everyone

The United States is a big and powerful country. If American policy is not determined democratically, with full information in the hands of the people, the effect is felt throughout the world. Take the U.S.-imposed embargo on trade with China, for instance. Britain and many other nations have had to accede to it, under protest and to their own loss, because the United States threatened them with economic penalties if they did not.

Curbs on press freedom are contagious. If Britain today were to adopt the concept of "sedition" the U.S. courts are trying to apply to the Powells and Schuman, the editors of the *Manchester Guardian* or the *Observer,* to say nothing of the Left press, could be brought to trial years later for their recent forthright denunciation of Anglo-French armed action in the Suez Canal as aggression.

'Police actions' and undeclared wars of the Korean type are becoming distressingly frequent; they are dangerous enough as it is, and would become disastrous if opinion was gagged.

The *China Monthly Review* trial is a clear test case in this regard.

From the Teaching Staff of the Department of Journalism, Fu Tan University, Shanghai

Wen Hui Pao, Shanghai, October 25, 1956

We are all educators working in the field of journalism. All the time we teach the new generation of journalists to be truthful to fact when they report to the people the good and bad, the right and wrong of our time, because as newspapermen they should be the conscience of their time.

We feel that Mr. Powell and his associates in editing the *China Monthly Review* fearlessly exposed the crimes of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime and also exposed the criminal actions of the American armed forces in carrying on germ warfare in Korea and Northeast China, thus expressing the noble tradition of the American people in their love for freedom and truth.

They are true sons of the American people and good friends of the Chinese People.

We say loudly to all journalists in China and the whole world—

The persecution of Mr. Powell and his associates by the American government is not only an attack upon their basic rights as American citizens guaranteed by their Constitution, but also a rude invasion of the freedom of the press which we cherish.

Let us resolutely support the just struggle of the Powells and Julian Schuman against persecution.

CHANG LI-CHOU
CHANG SZU-WEI
CHENG PEI-WEI
CHENG YUN
CHU CHEN-HUA
CHU HSIN-JU
HSIA TING-MING
HSU CHEN
HSU PEI-TING
HU CHI-AN
KO CHIN-YIN
LIN FAN
LING HUNG-TSUN
LU LIANG
MA TI-LIN
NING SHU-FAN
SHAO CHIA-LING
SHU TSUNG-CHIAO
TAO FENG-CHIAO
TSAO HENG-WEN
TUNG JUNG-HUA
WANG CHUNG
WANG YING-PIN
WU PI-HSI
YEH CHUN-HUA

THERE IS ACTION YOU CAN TAKE IN THIS CASE

As a former subscriber or reader of the *China Monthly Review,* or simply as a person interested in freedom of the press, there are many things you can do.

Regardless of your views of the stand taken by the magazine, you can, and we believe you will, act to help save these young journalists from being savagely penalized for reporting what they believed it was their duty to print and expressing the views they honestly held.

REMEMBER THE CONSEQUENCES IF THIS VINDICTIVE INDICTMENT STANDS

REMEMBER that John William Powell faces a lifetime in jail.

REMEMBER that his wife Sylvia, the mother of two small children, faces 20 years in prison; and that Julian Schuman too would serve 20 years if sentenced.

YOU CAN

- Keep yourself informed at all times on the case.
- Make the facts public by writing, speaking, sending letters to your local press, getting your organization to act, securing the interest of influential personalities.
- Contribute and collect contributions for the legal defense. The Powells and Schuman are penniless. A court fight in the United States is expensive.
- Write or wire a protest to the U.S. government and/or its representatives in your country.

(With acknowledgments to H. Daumier)

The Old Fight Goes On

WE SUGGEST THAT YOU SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO, AND GET FURTHER DETAILS FROM:

Powell-Schuman Defense Fund
Charles Mattox, Treasurer
P.O. Box 1808
San Fsancisco 1, Calif. U.S.A.

or

Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter
134 Glenholme Ave.,
Toronto 10, Ont. Canada

(The Committee of Friends of the China Monthly Review in Peking is an organization completely independent of any other. The addresses above, of organizations previously pledged to the defense of the Powells and Schuman, are given for the sake of speed and convenience in helping the defendants.)

AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERMAN GOES HOME

By John W. Powell

(Note: The following statement on his experiences in 1953 was made by John W. Powell in 1954 in connection with his appearance before a U.S. Senate Committee the following year. Attention is called to his account of how he was met in Hongkong, even prior to his arrival in the United States, and efforts made to enlist him in intelligence activity against China and certain groups in the United States.)

I spent some 15 years off and on in China as a child, student, newspaper reporter, U.S. Government employee (U.S. Office of War Information during World War II), occasional foreign correspondent and editor of an English-language magazine co-founded by my father and a family property from 1918 until 1953.

For a number of years I have been an open critic of American policy toward China which I believe has increasingly come under the sway of the so-called "China Lobby", a special-interest group of both Chinese and Americans whose own financial and political fortunes dictate support of Chiang Kai-shek.

Furthermore, since my return to the United States I have publicly stated—on the basis of personal observation of life in China during the past several years—that the Chinese today are better off under this present Communist-led government than they were under the old Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek.

Cold Reception in Hongkong

From the moment I stepped across the border from China into the British colony of Hongkong early in August of 1953, it was apparent that not only were my views on China considered unorthodox, but that I would run certain risks by maintaining them.

At the American Consulate-General in Hongkong my reception was most chilly. Old friends among the Consular staff were obviously embarrassed by my presence; some openly avoided me. With one exception, the numerous "reports officers", whose job it is to collect information about China, made no attempt to question me. And the one I did see avoided any general discussion of conditions, contenting himself with a few specific military intelligence questions.

I had anticipated that the American Consulate in Hongkong, one of the largest of our foreign consulates and our chief "listening post" for China, would be anxious to discuss the situation with me. I had expected some lively discussion, but I was quite unprepared for what happened.

Subsequently, friends among the foreign press corps and business community in Hongkong told me that the Consulate's attitude should occasion no surprise as most employees, particularly those who had spent time in China in the "old days", were scared to death. The examples of John Service, John Davies* and others of the Stilwell era who dared to express views contrary to those propounded by the "China Lobby" were fresh memories. (Or the case of Owen Lattimore, who, as a result of being summoned before this same Sub-committee has not only had to face an expensive and unpleasant legal battle in the courts but has been penalized professionally.)

As one businessman put it, "All reports about conditions in China must be black."

Offered Spy Job

While still in Hongkong I was approached by our Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) which offered to pay me for any military information I might have. (i.e. Did I remember the numbers on any of the box cars our train passed? Could I supply names and locations of key Chinese officials? What did I know about military installations? And so on.)

When I replied that I had been mainly interested in the general political, economic and social picture, I was told that "That was of no interest" and admonished that as an American citizen it was my duty to keep on the watch for items of military import when traveling abroad, no matter whether in an enemy, neutral or even friendly country. Such a theory

*John Stewart Service and John Davies were both former State Department officers, who were forced out of government employment.

if adhered to, I believe (aside from its moral aspects) would make it impossible for American newspapermen to work abroad.

In a subsequent conversation, a CIA representative told me that I probably would run into economic difficulties (scarcity of speaking and writing opportunities) because of my unpopular views on China and suggested that one "solution" would be for me to work as an undercover operative for the U.S. Government. All I would have to do, he said, would be to exploit any opportunities which the expression of my views on China might provide to contact "American left-wing and peace" circles and then report on what I saw and heard in such "circles".

Upon my return to the United States I was also visited on a few occasions by representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. At first they began by asking me questions about other people, mainly Americans who had visited or worked in China in the past. When I indicated that I had no desire to discuss the actions or attitudes or supposed motivations of others, the questioning shifted to me. I was told that "certain allegations" had been made about me and that perhaps I would "prefer" to discuss my own actions and attitudes. I received the impression that only by discussing others could I avoid investigation of myself.

Personal Library Seized

Upon arrival at San Francisco, our port of entry, the U.S. Customs declined to pass for entry a portion of the personal and household effects which my wife and I brought home with us. These items are still being held today, a year after our arrival.* They include: my personal library, newspaper clippings, notebooks, miscellaneous assortment of Chinese curios, photograph and phonograph record collections, two 16 mm. documentary films and a small trunk of gifts intended for my and my wife's immediate family.

The library, mainly the residue of the library collected by my father during his 25 years in China (a portion of it was lost during the war following its confiscation as "seditious" by the Japanese at the time of Pearl Harbor), has been denied entry on several successive grounds.

In the beginning the Customs maintained that the "law" prohibited entry of any printed material originating in China. To this I replied that probably 90 per cent of the books were published in the United States.

*Three years later this material was still being held by the U.S. authorities.

I specifically asked the Custom's inspector about the "New Testament". He replied that if the "New Testament has been to China, it cannot enter the United States."

Later, the Custom's Collector backed down from his position and stated that only those books which were "political" in nature couldn't come in and suggested that I aid in the segregation of the political from the non-political volumes. We replied that this would be quite a chore and asked, as a random example, how he felt about the title "Jude the Obscure" by Thomas Hardy. He thought a moment, then passed the question to his aide, who replied, after some thought, that the book "contains some questionable passages".

The majority of the photographs are from my office files and are of people and places in China, although among them are numerous personal photographs of my children, wedding pictures, snapshots of friends, etc. All are banned on the grounds that they came from China, even though some were taken in the United States and transported to China by my father and/or me, with a few dating back some 40 or 50 years. The same near-ridiculous situation exists in the case of the phonograph records, with an album of Gilbert and Sullivan being among the proscribed.

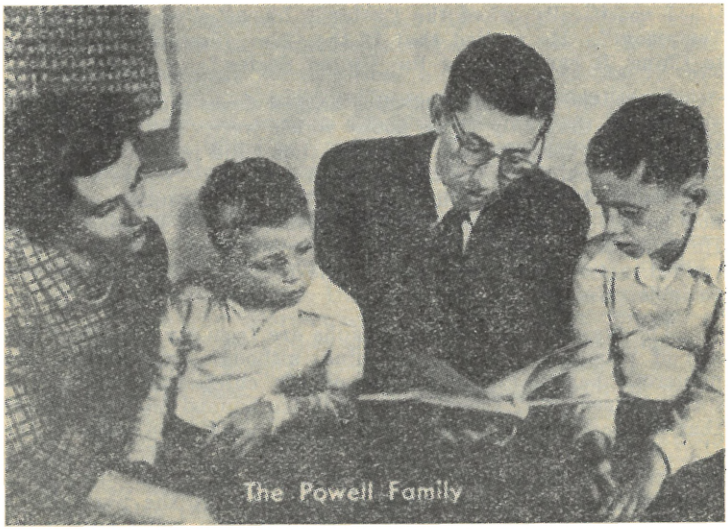
I feel that since my return from China undue pressure has been exerted, designed to persuade me to abandon my views on China and to cease my criticism of our China policy, which almost daily approximates more closely the views of the "China Lobby".

The 'Review' and Colonialism

If not all native movements for reform and freedom have been perfect by western standards, then how much are they to be blamed if they have committed errors in their first blow for indpendence after centuries? The natives have had, in a few years, to undo the faults of centuries. That was why errors were committed.

But what of western extremists who, after hundreds of years, are still out to use the same tactics against the same people for the same end — power and wealth? What of them, of those who had gained empires by force and now wish to retain them by the same means.

—*China Weekly Review*, Editorial, August 2, 1947.



FACING A SENATE COMMITTEE

By John W. Powell

On September 27, 1954 I appeared before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security (Jenner Committee). I arrived in Washington with the hope that the hearing would provide a chance to discuss with an important group of U.S. senators conditions in China and my views on our country's China policy.

The hope that I might be able to discuss our China policy in a reasoned manner with the committee was dispelled the minute the hearing opened.

Standing before a battery of television cameras and packed press galleries, Senator Jenner delivered an impassioned speech about how the United States "lost" China. This, he declared, was largely the result of sabotage of our foreign policy. He concluded by stating that a new chapter in this "conspiracy" was being unfolded. A group of foreign agents was now trying further to mislead the American people by selling them on Red China.

Then began a two-day parade of committee witnesses who testified that because I had openly opposed the Korean War and because I "favored" Communist China I "must" be a Communist, a Chinese agent, a Soviet sympathizer, a foreign propagandist, a murderer of American soldiers and a generally disreputable individual. One ex-POW testified that the *Review* was one of the several periodicals available in POW camp reading rooms and stated that if the transport used to haul copies to Korea from China had instead been used for food and medicine fewer prisoners would have died.

A deliberate attempt was made by this type of testimony to create the impression that the *Review* was a special propaganda publication which I edited for the Chinese government. No mention was made of the fact that the *Review*, founded by my father and another American newspaperman in 1917, had long been one of the principal American voices in the Far East and was considered a chief source of reference material by libraries and universities throughout the world. In 1953 I closed the magazine because of insurmountable financial difficulties.

Exploitation of War Widow

Beginning with Senator Jenner's inflammatory speech—which contained a number of errors in fact in addition to its basically false premise—the tension was carefully built up. Indicative was the senator's exploitation of Mrs. Dolores Gill, the widow of an American officer who died while a prisoner in Korea.

Mrs. Gill testified that she had received a message from her husband following his capture in which he reported that he was alive and well. In addition, she continued, I had sent her a clipping of the same message which had appeared in a Chinese newspaper. Senator Jenner then asked what other word she had of her husband, to which she replied that the next thing she knew he was dead, reportedly as a result of malnutrition and dysentery.

She was followed on the stand by a medical officer, a former POW. This witness was asked if he knew Lt. Gill. When he replied in the affirmative, Mrs. Gill, obviously taken by surprise, broke into uncontrollable sobbing. Senator Jenner then asked the officer when he last saw the late Lt. Gill, to which he replied that he was treating him until shortly before he died.

At this Mrs. Gill broke down. Indeed she had gone through a severe emotional shock. Senator Jenner then "apologized"

for the public nature of this first meeting between Mrs. Gill and the man who did his best to save her husband's life but claimed that the tightness of the committee's schedule and late arrival of some witnesses had prevented an earlier, private meeting. (The fact that the hearing had been in preparation for several weeks and that obviously there had been time for the two witnesses to meet was not mentioned. Nor was any explanation given as to why the medical officer, although back in the United States from Korea for approximately one year, had never made any attempt to contact Mrs. Gill.)

I was accused of misleading Mrs. Gill by telling her that her husband was well when he was actually dying or dead. The fact of the matter is that I merely clipped an item from a Chinese newspaper telling of Lt. Gill's original letter and mailed it to her with a note of encouragement. No mention was made of the fact that Lt. Gill's letter was written more than half a year before his subsequent illness and unfortunate death.

At this juncture emotions were at fever pitch. Mrs. Gill sobbed, witnesses shouted denunciations of me as they testified, Senator Jenner declaimed, the TV cameras ground on, recording the dramatic moment.

Answer "Yes" or "No"

In this atmosphere I took the witness chair. Demanding flat "yes" and "no" answers, the Senator continuously interrupted whenever I attempted a fuller explanation and even refused me the courtesy of reading a brief statement of my views on Chinese-American relations. Whenever my attorney attempted to discuss points of law with the committee, Senator Jenner cut him off short and, on occasion, threatened to eject him, declaring that I had no legal right to counsel and that it was only a "privilege" extended me by the committee.

Typical of many of his questions were a series in which he asked whether the articles I wrote about China were paid for by the Communists, whether my employees belonged to a "Communist-controlled" labor union, whether I was a member of the Chinese Communist Party and in general whether I followed the Communist line. When I attempted to reply that it was my habit to write only what I believed to be true and that I thought my articles presented an accurate picture of developments in China, he cut me off, declaring that he was not present to listen to propaganda speeches and ordered me to answer "yes" or "no."

At such times it seemed impossible to answer satisfactorily, so I simply declined to go into the matter any further.

(It is significant that one count in the recent perjury indictment of Owen Lattimore stems from the fact that he fell for such loaded questions and tried to answer on this "yes" and "no" basis. In testimony before this same committee Lattimore replied "no" to the question: Have you followed the Communist line in your writing? The committee then quoted a number of passages in various articles and books by Lattimore to show that on occasion he had in fact been in "agreement" with the Soviet Union. As Lattimore himself subsequently commented:

"Under this indictment no writer on foreign affairs could be safe from prosecution unless during the past 20 years he had always opposed everything that Russia advocated. . . The entire Democratic and Republican administrations could be accused of perjury if they said they never knowingly followed the Communist line. So could Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower, all of whom have been accused of following the Communist line.")

Another type of attack launched by Senator Jenner took the form of a series of questions regarding my relatives, none of which were pertinent to the hearing but which could easily result in social or financial hardship to my family. For example, he ordered me to name all relatives I visited while staying in Washington, D.C.

Threats to Family

Even closer to home, was the following exchange obviously aimed at getting my wife fired* and thus penalizing us financially:

Mr. Carpenter (counsel for the committee): Are you married?

Mr. Powell: I am.

Mr. Carpenter: What is your wife's name?

Mr. Powell: Sylvia.

Mr. Carpenter: And is she now employed?

Mr. Powell: Yes, she is also working.

Mr. Carpenter: Where is she working?

Still later, the committee asked detailed questions about my two sons, aged three and five, demanding to know where they

*Sylvia Powell did, in fact, lose her job after a subsequent hearing in San Francisco.

are now, a line of enquiry I regarded as containing most ominous possibilities. Since the Senator obviously was not concerned with their political views, I could only interpret this interest as an implied threat to separate my wife and me from our children.

Many of Senator Jenner's other questions were confined to the so-called $64 variety in which he demanded that I reveal my political views, the names of friends and acquaintances, names of publications for which I have written, etc. Dealing with such questions was certainly not easy. On the one hand I felt that actually there was no reason not to discuss my own political views.

The whole idea of Americans being forced, under threat of penalty, to bare their beliefs struck me as entirely too reminiscent of the pre-war Japanese "Thought Police," whom I had opportunity to observe in action. I thus decided that I could not accept Senator Jenner's premise that he had a right to inquire into my political, religious, social or other thoughts or beliefs. In fact, I was not prepared to tell him whether I was a Democrat or a Republican.

Defending Constitutional Rights

In addition to my personal feelings, I thought that it was both my right and my duty to avail myself of the constitutional safeguards which citizens of this country possess. Many of Senator Jenner's questions actually constituted an attempt to penalize me for expressing views contrary to his. Thus, he was trying to destroy that freedom of opinion guaranteed us by the First Amendment.

While I have committed no crime, I certainly did fear that I might subject myself to prosecution by answering some of Senator Jenner's trick questions, especially those about other people. Since I worked in China as a newspaperman for several years it is pretty obvious that I have met, been acquainted with or even maintained friendly relationships with a large number of our country's China experts. In the last few years many of these people have been denounced by Senator Jenner and others. Some have been dismissed from the State Department, others have been fired from university teaching posts and one has even been indicted.

In asking about Americans who have been to China, Senator Jenner was careful not to ask if I knew people such as Dr. Leighton Stuart or General Hurley, both former American ambassadors in China and men who have managed to maintain

their "respectability" despite their past associations with China. Rather, he asked only about those who have been publicly denounced, including Owen Lattimore.

Since Senator Jenner had clearly stated that it was his aim to expose a traitorous "conspiracy" of which I was a central figure, I felt it extremely unwise to admit knowing any of the already-labelled people about whom he questioned me. A further problem involved is that once you admit knowing so-and-so, the floodgates are wide open and innumerable questions follow: Where, how and when did you meet him? Who else was present? What did he say? And so on.

Undoubtedly the worst aspect of the experience was the complete sense of frustration. Committee members would shout their questions, many of which could not be answered with a simple "yes" or "no," witnesses heatedly talked of taking the "law" into their own hands and hurled all manner of abuse at me, someone called me a "murderer" and Senator Jenner yelled "renegade."

Through all of this I was forced to remain calm (outwardly, at least). When I could not hold back sharp replies, I had to tack on to the end of my rejoinder some softening expression such as "with all due respect, Senator". No matter how insulting Jenner became I repeatedly had to demonstrate my respect for the high office of Senator of the United States which he occupies.

"Alice in Wonderland"

It was almost an Alice-in-Wonderland setting. The committee was judge, jury and prosecutor and made the rules to suit itself. Its witnesses were allowed to take their time, were permitted to include all sorts of rumors, suspicions and mere hearsay into their testimony. On the other hand I was interrogated severely, frequently prevented from giving adequate answers and, of course, asked a whole string of the "have you stopped beating your wife" type questions to which there is no answer.

In view of the difficulty I encountered in expressing myself at the hearing, I later held a press conference at which I answered all the $64 questions about my political views, personal friendships and acquaintanceships and discussed the whole subject of China and our China policy. Senator Jenner took strong exception to this and subsequently issued a statement in which he declared himself "shocked beyond words" (sic) to learn that I had been allowed to hold this discussion, characterized my

remarks as the spreading of the "poison of confusion and defeatism", and stated that he had asked the Justice Department to press treason charges against me.

He then recessed the hearing—threatening to call me again —which left me on the east coast at my own expense for an indefinite stay and separated from my family and work in California. This, I have subsequently learned, is a frequent practice of such investigating committees.

Of course, this is only a small part of the harm which Senator Jenner has caused me. My character has been publicly assassinated, thus making it difficult for me to continue my writing and lecturing. In addition, the expenses I have been forced to incur have not been small. It must also have cost the taxpayers a great deal of money to put on such a show.

* * *

I believe the basic issue is my freedom to report my firsthand observations and express views critical of our present China policy. While conditions in China cannot be compared to conditions in America, the fact remains that most Chinese are better off today than they were when Chiang Kai-shek and his family ran the country. If for no other reason the majority of the Chinese people support their new government.

This is a political fact of life which we must recognize. Whether we like it or not is another matter entirely. The other nations of the world realize that Chiang Kai-shek cannot be restored to power and that an attempt by us to do so could easily set off a general war in the Far East — a war which in the long run might well produce a disaster of major proportions for the West and which certainly would not solve any of the problems of Asia. We are thus not only pursuing a dead-end policy but are rapidly isolating ourselves internationally.

If there ever were a time when our people needed information about China, it is today. By attempting to shut off debate on Chinese-American relations, Senator Jenner is trying to promote an unrealistic and dangerous policy, the maintenance of which is not in the best interests of the United States. On the contrary, I am convinced that the only hope for peace and prosperity in the Pacific lies in the establishment of normal, reasonably friendly relations between the United States and China. Negotiation of differences, and trade—both as an end in itself and as a method of anchoring future relations in mutual self-interest — I believe are necessary steps.

WE AFFIRM OUR LOYALTY TO OUR COUNTRY

By John W. and Sylvia Powell

(Statement made April 27, 1956 after their Indictment.)

We have certainly not committed any acts of sedition. We reject this accusation as entirely false. We are proud to be American citizens and affirm our loyalty to our country.

We believe that this indictment has come about because in the columns of our magazine, the *China Monthly Review,* we were outspoken critics of our government's foreign policy in Asia and particularly our China policy. This is a freedom of the press case from start to finish.

It seems to us no accident that many outstanding scholars, professors and foreign service personnel whose opinions on our China policy run counter to those of Senators McCarthy, Jenner, Welker and Eastland, have also suffered persecution.

We spent 15 years in China and feel that we speak with some authority on the events that have taken place there. As trained and conscientious journalists, we endeavored at all times to report the facts and our opinions based on these facts. We have continued and will continue to write and talk about what we saw there. This approach to independent journalism I learned from my father, the late J. B. Powell, who founded the *Review* in China 40 years ago.

Though our opinions run counter to those of the "China Lobby" and others who still pretend that Chiang Kai-shek and his group on Formosa represent China, we believe that as American citizens it is not only our right, but, our duty to report on what we saw.

The question of our China policy is indeed a complex one and there are many views as to what we should do. While we believe that our opinions are valid, we recognize the right of others to hold different views. As many people have pointed out, loyalty does not imply conformity of opinion..

We view this indictment as another attempt to stop public debate on our China policy.

More Letters from the People

PEKING

I am most glad to join the Committee of Friends of the China Monthly Review for the Defense of Its Editors.

Enclosed herewith you will please find my humble contribution to the lofty cause which we are undertaking.

Please keep me informed of the progress made by the Committee.

C. Y. W. MENG

November 7, 1956.

(Mr. Meng, long associated with J. B. Powell on the CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW, continued as a Contributing Editor to the CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW.)

* * *

PEKING

I was a colleague of Bill's as early as 1945, working together in the same news department of the American OWI in Chungking, and later in the USIS in Shanghai. The two of us—Bill and I—were practically the entire editorial staff when the *Review* resumed publication, under difficult conditions, at a time when we were still in the USIS. I was one of the assistant editors (associate editors) until the summer of 1947.

My vacation is to begin sometime next week. I shall devote part of it to writing an article on my association with the *Review*. This may help somewhat.

CHIH FU-JEN

November 1, 1956.

* * *

TIENTSIN

Oh, our faculty Reading Circle meeting went off just fine yesterday. We had an especially large attendance, and the weather was just crisp enough that we enjoyed the fireplace fire and the hot coffee. Then during the course of the meeting our college dean and the head of our foreign languages section dropped in. Most everyone was very much interested in the Powell-Schuman case, but especially our dean, who read every scrap of the material I had prepared.

Having put off buying the winter coat I was going to, I've earmarked part of my November salary (₹100.00) for the fund—and my husband has generously offered to double the sum!

BETTY CHANDLER CHANG
Tientsin Normal College

October 30, 1956.

* * *

SHANGHAI

Although I have not had much to do with "Bill" Powell personally, when working in the Shanghai Bureau of the Associated Press during 1946-49, I recall that my colleague, AP Correspondent Roy Essoyan, wrote a feature 'mailer' article about Powell, which appeared in at least 50 American newspapers (as evidenced by "clippings" sent us from the AP San Francisco headquarters), under such headlines as "Fighting American Editor Helps Clean Up Shanghai", "J. B. Powell Jr. Leads Fight Against Shanghai Corruption", "Powell Upholds Best Tradition of American Journalism in Footsteps of Father", etc., etc. So in 1947 according to the American press he was "upholding best traditions of American journalism". Now 8 years later he is accused of "sedition".

Furthermore, Powell's name was conspicuous in American news agency stories at the time of Liberation when, as an inhabitant of the Embankment Building in Shanghai, which was in the Kuomintang-held sector of Shanghai not yet liberated, he saved the lives of some KMT soldiers by affecting a truce between them and the PLA by whom they were overwhelmingly outnumbered.

As for Julian Schuman, I played bridge with him every Sunday during his last year in Shanghai and never heard an unpatriotic word from him about the U.S.

If there is anything I can do to help the cause, please call upon me.

EDDIE CRIGHTON LEE

October 16, 1956.

* * *

PEKING

In the newspaper we read the news of the American imperialists' persecution of the three American journalists who cherish humanity, John W. Powell and his wife and Julian Schuman. We feel very indignant.

The flame of justice can never be extinguished. People who stand for justice will never be alone. Final victory belongs to the just people. Mr. Powell, we together with people of the whole world who love justice, truth and peace are determined to support your just struggle.

We demand the withdrawal of the accusation and the restoration of the good name of the Powells and Schuman. We also want to express our sympathy to the Powells and Schuman. We got a prize in the Labor Emulation Drive and are sending ¥5.00 from this as a gift to the Committee for the Defense of the Powells. The amount though very small, expresses our feelings.

PI YU-LIEN

KUNGSUN LIANG-PIN

October 17, 1956.

* * *

'Review's' Facts were True

When I read in the newspaper about the U.S. government persecution of Mr. Powell and his wife and Julian Schuman — upright newspaper reporters who are faithful to the facts—I felt very indignant.

The *Review* was always a supporter of justice and faithful to the facts. For this reason it was welcomed by all peace and freedom-loving people in China, as well as in the United States. This magazine has many sincere friends in both our countries.

Yet people like the Powells and Schuman who stick to the facts and stand up for justice cannot live freely in the United States. Today the world is not the same as it was 20 years ago. The trial of these three journalists is a challenge to all of the people in the world who are true to freedom and justice.

The Powells' reports of the crimes of the U.S. forces in Korea are true. I who have fought in Korea saw with my own eyes that the aggressors on the night of February 8, 1952 discharged germ bombs on Yuan Shan. In the afternoon of April 2, 1951 in less than two hours they reduced the normal life in the city of Yung Hsin, Hsien Hsing Nan Tao to a heap of ruins.

By announcing the so-called crimes of these three defendants, the U.S. government is trying to silence all other voices.

Mr. and Mrs. Powell, Mr. Schuman—I want to pay my respects to your spirit in the steadfast defense of justice.

CHOU HSI

October 10, 1956.
Tsinan, Shantung

SHANGHAI

I worked as a translator for the *Review* until July 1953 when the magazine stopped publication. Although my association with Bill Powell and Mrs. Powell and Julian Schuman was not very long, yet I respect their spirit of tireless and persistent struggle for human rights.

Today three years after their return to the United States, the American government has accused them of a very serious crime, "sedition", and started their formal prosecution in the courts.

I wish to participate in the Committee of Friends of the China Monthly Review formed in Peking and to contribute my share.

YANG LI-HSIN

New Knowledge Publishing House

October 15, 1956.

* * *

URUMCHI, SINKIANG

The Powells used their pens and their voice to support our just struggle. They exposed the smoke screen of the aggressors and showed the truth to the whole world. For this reason the McCarthyites accuse them.

The American people want to be on friendly terms with the Chinese people. This sentiment cannot be suppressed by any paper curtain, bamboo curtain or iron screen fabricated by Mr. Dulles.

Please express my support to the Powells.

JOSEPH I. C. LUAN

Former Shantung correspondent and Contributing Editor, "China Weekly Review"

October 15, 1956.

* * *

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM, PEKING UNIVERSITY

I am now only a student in Journalism. But as a future journalist I want to express my sympathy to the Powells as a fellow-worker in the struggle for truth and I am determined to fight the persecution of the Powells by the U.S. government.

This not only shows that the American government is violating human rights and the sacred right of newspapermen to report facts, but also it is a persecution against the people of the whole world who are willing to live together in peace and friendship.

I hope this letter will reach Powell and his wife and Schuman. Let them know that a future journalist who is still studying in the University, majoring in Journalism, will take their struggle for peace and truth as a model and is very proud of them as workers in the same profession.

FAN CHING-KUO

October 12, 1956.

* * *

TSING HUA UNIVERSITY, PEKING

I am a student in Tsing Hua University. Today I read an article in the newspaper on the Powell case by Rewi Alley, Chairman of the Committee of Friends of the China Monthly Review for the Defense of Its Editors. I learned that Mr. Powell because of correct reportage of the life in New China is suffering unreasonable and conspiratorial persecution. I want to express my indignation. I ask you to do one thing for me. I am enclosing ¥20.00; please get foreign exchange for it and give it to Mr. Powell as the expression of my support.

Maybe this act of mine will produce little result. The sum of money is very small, but it shows my determination.

CHU PAO-CHUN

October 20, 1956.

* * *

PEKING

Here is some money—U.S. $45.00—for the Powells. This money was originally given by some American friends to our daughter. Now she is eight years old and we think it's more useful to give it to this cause.

LI KENG

TUNG CHOU-HSIN

October 24, 1956.

* * *

PEKING

Having read in the *People's Daily* today that a committee in Peking has been set-up in support of John William Powell and his wife and Julian Schuman, who are being persecuted by the U.S. government on unfounded and malicious "sedition" charges, I hasten to express my willingness to testify for them. I knew Julian Schuman in Shanghai in the winter of 1947 soon after he arrived in China. We were then both members of the International Culture and Service Society, an organization affiliated with the Shanghai YMCA. We had very close associations during the period from the winter of 1952 to the summer 1953 when he left for America. We had long talks on different topics ranging from the international situation to personal affairs. I also know the Powells through Julian. I cherish my friendship with Julian.

Julian is a veteran who was stationed in the Philippines during the 2nd World War. He attended the Chinese School of Yale University prior to his coming to China. He had also been Shanghai correspondent for the *Chicago Sun* and radio commentator for the American Broadcasting Company before Liberation in Shanghai. Later on he became associate editor of the *China Monthly Review* in which he told the world the truth about China.

The Powells and Julian Schuman are plain Americans. They were not affiliated with any political organizations. In reporting to the world what they actually saw in China, they only did what any patriotic American journalist should have done. The outrageous charges against them cannot but arouse the strong opposition of all peace-loving people.

I am very much in sympathy with my friends. I shall spare no effort in the important and hard fight for them. I shall be glad to do anything I can in this fight.

HU TAO-CHIEH

October 12, 1956.

Committee of Friends of the China Monthly Review for the Defense of Its Editors

This is a private committee formed in China on October 11, 1956. Its members are former associates, contributors and friends of the magazine. They include Americans, British, Chinese and people of other nationalities, some still in China, some now living elsewhere — but all part of the *Review's* far flung 'family'.

One purpose of the Committee is to make the situation of the *Review's* editors known to its former readers and supporters and all friends of freedom of the press wherever they be, so that they can come to their aid.

Another purpose is fully to inform public opinion in China of the attack on these U.S. journalists, victimized in their own country for their fight for a "fair deal" in Sino-American relations, so important for the peace of the world.

The fund-raising activities of this Committee are confined to China. The Committee is not affiliated organizationally with any group set up elsewhere for the defense of the Powells and Schuman.

Further copies of this and subsequent bulletins will be supplied to anyone who wishes to have them. Communications are welcomed. Friends abroad, however, are asked not to send funds to this Committee. They can make their financial contributions directly to defense groups in the United States, or in their own countries.

TESTIMONY

I want to testify that, to my knowledge, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Powell are loyal American citizens, true to the heritage of American civilization. What they have done during their stay in China was to help the Chinese people to learn the meaning of liberty and democracy as experienced by the sons and daughters of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and other builders of America. Their efforts have greatly contributed to the understanding by the Chinese people of what American life is based upon. Thus they have effectively done a great deal to lay the foundation upon which the friendship the Chinese people feel toward the American people was built. This, I think, no real patriot of the United States can conscientiously deny and would want to cast off lightly.

In this day when passion rather than rational reasoning holds sway, I want to say that, for the long-term interests of the United States of America, it would be better not to destroy the good feeling of the Chinese toward the American people. The condemnation of the doings of the Powells in China would do great damage to the foundation of friendship between the two peoples concerned.

To my judgment, they have done much for America and deserve much credit. The Chinese people would feel badly if their efforts to enhance the understanding of the Chinese for the American people should be in any way misinterpreted by their own government. On the outcome of the trial of the Powells, my people here would base their judgment as to whether there still is justice in the present-day United States.

YUAN-SHAN DJANG
Cornell University, 1915
At one time, Travelling Fellow, United Nations
Vice-chairman, Western Returned Students Club, Peking
Member, National Committee, P.P.C.C.

Peking, China
December 8, 1956

(Note: Y. S. Djang was for many years the General Secretary of the International Famine Relief Commission in old China.)

GLOBE & MAIL, Toronto, Canada.
November 23, 1956

J. V. McAree

FREE SPEECH THREATENED

It is fortunate for Canadian writers that they are Canadians and not subject to the jurisdiction of American committees of Congress. It is fortunate also for their readers. Striking evidence of this is provided by the recent case of John W. Powell, generally known as Bill, his wife Sylvia and Julian Schuman, a friend and associate. They are now under indictment on charges of sedition, and subject to long terms of imprisonment if higher courts do not come to their rescue. Their alleged offense is that they have been critical of the American policy in China; and that in their magazine, the *China Weekly Review*, founded by Bill's father in 1917, they published false articles about the conduct of United States troops in the Korean War, knowing them to be false. The writings on which the charges are based are from three to five years old; and it might here be pointed out that the right to be wrong is deeply imbedded in the freedom of the press. Our concern is not with the errors which Bill and his assistant editor may have committed, but with their right to express opinions unpopular with the United States Government.

Against the China Lobby

It might be set down by way of introduction that the *China Review* has been since its establishment an acknowledged authority on Chinese matters. This was natural since the editors, both father and son, lived in China and could observe events at first hand. They said flatly that the people of China now under Communist rule are better off than they were under the corrupt rule of Chiang Kai-shek. This is an opinion which has been voiced by hundreds of other writers and observers, even those who, like the Powells, are opposed to communism. Our own modest opinion is that the present Government should be recognized. We recognize other Communist Governments, do we not? But the American Government, influenced no doubt by the powerful Chinese lobby, continues to recognize Chiang's outfit on Formosa, which has no more chance of ousting the present Chinese Government than Egypt has of overpowering Great Britain.

Selected Victims

The Powells were forced to leave China in 1953, after they had found it impossible to continue publication of their paper,

an indication that they were no particular pets of the Communist Party leaders. Since then they have lived in San Francisco, presumably on their savings. Why, so long after the events complained of, they should be prosecuted by the U.S. Government, and scorned and insulted by the Internal Security Sub-committee of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, is not made plain. This committee is headed by the notorious Senator Jenner, who is strictly of the McCarthy type. In a letter to a friend Bill Powell described his experience: "Then began a two-day parade of committee witnesses who testified that I had openly opposed the Korean War, and because I 'favored' China I 'must' be a Communist, a Chinese agent, a Soviet sympathizer, a foreign propagandist, a murderer of American soldiers and a generally disreputable individual."

Loaded Questions

He was savagely questioned by Senator Jenner. Many of the questions were loaded, of the "Have you stopped beating your wife?" kind to which Yes or No answers would be misleading or deadly. Yet, Yes or No was demanded. Finally Bill declined to answer certain questions as to his political and religious beliefs. He flatly refused to answer questions which concerned his friends. Later he called a press conference at which he was able to provide the information he had refused to give the committee, not being then on oath and liable to a subsequent charge of perjury. This infuriated the senator who said that he had asked the Justice Department to press treason charges against Powell.

Dubious Law

Of the anti-sedition law under which the defendants are being prosecuted Zachariah Chafee Jr., Professor of Law at Harvard, has said: "On its face this statute seems directed against discussion which is plainly incitement of mutiny in the Army or Navy; but during the First World War the lower Federal courts worked out a doctrine that if speech were unfavorable to the Government it might make soldiers discontented, and it did not have to be spoken to soldiers because, if you made their families discontented, the discontent would eventually spread to the soldiers. As a result almost anybody who said anything against the war or against the conduct of the war might be in trouble." In the First World War there were many convictions, but few in the Second. The war in Korea was undeclared and the highest American court has not been asked to decide whether sedition applies to it. If necessary and if funds are available, the Powells will have this point decided. Any Canadians who might be interested in the case can help the Powells and Schuman by sending along contributions to the Canadian Far Eastern Newletter, 134 Glenholme Avenue, Toronto 10.